Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 KABUL 02283 01 OF 02 270539Z
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06
HA-05 EB-08 AID-05 TRSE-00 OMB-01 /078 W
----------002495 270602Z /23
R 270333Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY KABUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7104
INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
CINCPAC

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 KABUL 2283

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT, PGOV, AF
SUBJECT: DAOUD GOES TO THE PEOPLE AND DESCRIBES DAOUDISM

1. SUMMARY. AN UNPRECEDENTED SERIES OF RECENT PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHES HAS PROVIDED INSIGHTS REGARDING MOHAMMAD DAOUD'S CURRENT VIEWS ON THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING AFGHANISTAN AND, IN SOME CASES, ON THEIR SOLUTIONS. SOME PRINCIPAL THEMES OF THESES ADDRESSES WERE: DOMESTIC ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT MUST BE ATTAINED PRINCIPALLY THROUGH THE EFFORTS OF THE AFGHAN PEOPLE THEMSELVES;THE DAOUD REVOLUTION IS NOT A SIMPLE PROCESS, BUT MAY REQUIRE A GENERATION IN WHICH TO ACHIEVE ITS GOALS; EDUCATION OF YOUTH, POLITICAL INSTITUTION-BUILDING, AND THE ELIMINATION OF CLAN AND TRIBAL ALLEGIANCES, ARE CRUCIAL TO THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS; AND, RADICAL FOREIGN IDEOLOGIES OF EITHER THE LEFT OR RIGHT SHOULD BE SHUNNED IN FAVOR OF THE CENTRIST PATH OUTLINED BY DAOUD'S ALMOST FIVE-YEAR OLD "REPUBLICAN ORDER." END SUMMARY.
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 KABUL 02283 01 OF 02 270539Z

2. LESS THAN A WEEK AFTER HIS RETURN FROM A TWO-WEEK FOREIGN TRIP INVOLVING STATE VISITS TO FOUR COUNTRIES, AN APPARENTLY HEALTHY AND VIGOROUS PRESIDENT DAOUD EMBARKED MARCH 13 ON A TEN-DAY POLITICAL BARNSTORMING TOUR OF AFGHANISTAN'S EASTERN PUSHTUN PROVINCES OF NANGARHAR, KONAR, AND LAGHMAN, DURING WHICH HE PRESSED A LOT OF FLESH AND DELIVERED A REMARKABLE FLURRY OF

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

NINE PUBLIC SPEECHES, AS WELL AS A NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE. TAKEN TOGETHER, THE VARIOUS THEMES RUNNING THROUGH THIS UNPRECEDENTED SERIES OF ADDRESSES BY THE USUALLY WITHDRAWN AND TACITURN AFGHAN LEADER CONSTITUTE THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE EXPOSITION OF DAOUD'S VIEWS THUS FAR OF WHERE HIS REGIME AND COUNTRY NOW STAND, AS WELL AS THE COURSE THAT SHOULD BE FOLLOWED IN ORDER TO ATTAIN HIS DESIRED GOALS. THE SPEECHES MIGHT BE SAID TO CONSTITUTE AN OUTLINE OF THAT UNIQUELY AFGHAN IDEOLOGY THAT HAS COME TO BE KNOWN AS "DAOUDISM."

3. DAOUD OPENED A NUMBER OF HIS TALKS WITH APOLOGIES THAT HE HAD NOT SPENT MORE TIME IN THE PROVINCES SINCE THE 1973 REVOLATION, BUT EXPLAINED THAT PRESSING DUTIES HAD REQUIRED HIM TO REMAIN IN THE CAPITAL IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH THE "SECURITY OF THE COUNTRY." (COMMENT: ACTUALLY, IT HAS NOT, UNTIL NOW, BEEN DAOUD'S STYLE TO ENGAGE IN PUBLIC POLITICKING. END COMMENT) HE IMPLIED THAT OVERALL SECURITY HAS NOW BEEN ATTAINED, BUT THAT SOME FANATICAL RESISTANCE STILL EXISTS, AS DEMONSTRATED BY THE ASSASSINATION OF PLANNING MINISTER KHURRAM LAST NOVEMBER.

4. DAOUD'S PRINCIPAL OVERALL THEME WAS THAT "THE REVOLUTION IS NOT A SIMPLE PROCESS," BUT ONE WHICH MAY REQUIRE A GENERATION "FOR ITS FRUITION." HE REPEATEDLY STRESSED THAT THE PROGRAMS OF HIS REGIME ARE AIMED AT SERVING THE MAJORITY OF THE AFGHAN POPULATION, AND NOT MERELY A SINGLE CALSS OR GROUP. HE STATED THAT CLAN AND TRIBAL ALLEGIANCES MUST BE ELIMINATED IN ORDER TO

BUILD A BROADER IDENTIFICATION BY ALL CITIZENS AS "AFGHANS," OBSERVING THAT CLAN, TRIBAL, AND REGIONAL CONCEPTS ARE NO LONGER ELEMENTS OF NATION-BUILDING. (COMMENT: ALTHOUGH, STRICTLY SPEAKING, THE TERM "AFGHAN" IS SYNONYMOUS WITH "PUSHTUN" OR "PATHAN" IN DESCRIBING ONLY ONE OF THE ETHNIC GROUPS OF AFGHANISTAN -- AND ITS DOMINANT ONE, DAOUD IS TRYING TO CONVINCE OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS, SUCH AS THE HAZARAS, THE TAJIKS, AND THE TURKIC PEOPLES OF THE NORTH TO REFER TO THEMSELVES AS "AFGHANS." AFTER CENTURIES OF SUBJUGATION BY THE TRUE AFGHANS, THE LATTER UNDERSTANDABLY FIND IT DIFFICULT TO CALL THEMSELVES BY THAT NAME -- AND MANY TRUE AFGHAN-PUSHTUN-PATHANS RESENT THE PRACTICE AS WELL. END COMMENT) IN THIS REGARD, IN AN UNUSUALLY PERSONAL REFERENCE, DAOUD REMARKED THAT HE HAD "SACRIFICED PERSONAL AND FAMILY INTERESTS" AT THE TIME OF THE REVOLUTION. (COMMENT: THE KING DAOUD OVERTHREW AND SENT INTO EXILE WAS HIS OWN FIRST COUSIN AND BROTHER-IN-LAW.)

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 KABUL 02283 02 OF 02 270558Z
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06
HA-05 EB-08 AID-05 TRSE-00 OMB-01 /078 W
----------002521 270602Z /11
R 270333Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY KABUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7105
INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
CINCPAC

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 KABUL 2283

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

5. DAOUD IMPLIED THAT THE "CONSOLIDATION" PHASE OF HIS REVOLUTION WAS NEARING ITS END, AND THAT THE COUNTRY NOW FACED A PERHAPS EVEN MORE DIFFICULT PERIOD WHEREIN THE FORMIDABLE PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT MUST BE SOLVED. HE HIGHLIGHTED THE PROVISIONS OF HIS REGIME'S SEVEN-YEAR PLAN, AND ASSERTED THAT IF THE COUNTRY CAN OBTAIN ITS STIPULATED OBJECTIVES, THE AFGHAN ECONOMY WILL BE AT LEAST ON THE WAYOUT OF ITS UNDER-DEVELOPMENT. DAOUD REPEATEDLY AFFIRMED THAT THE AFGHAN PEOPLE THROUGH THEIR OWN EXERTIONS MUST ATTAIN ECONOMIC SELF-SUFFICIENCY, ALTHOUGH HE DID CONCEDE THAT "TEMPORARY HELP" EXTENDED BY DEVELOPED COUNTRIES COULD BE USEFUL.

6. POLITICAL THEMES, IN GENERAL, TOOK A BACK SEAT TO DAOUD'S EXHORTATIONS REGARDING THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FIELD, BUT HE DID STATE IN HIS NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE THAT THE PARTY OF THE NATIONAL REVOLUTION (PNR) IS "THE MOST IMPORTANT INSTITUTION FOR NURTURING A REVOLUTIONARY GENERATION," AND HE ADDED THAT THE PNR'S CENTRAL COUNCIL HAS BEGUN ITS ORGANIZATIONAL WORK, AND HAS
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 KABUL 02283 02 OF 02 270558Z

INITIATED PARTY RECRUITMENT FROM AMONG "FARMERS, WORKERS, AND THE ENLIGHTENED." IN THIS REGARD, DAOUD INSISTED THAT THE PNR IS AN ORGANIZATION "OF THE PEOPLE," AND THAT ITS MEMBERS MUST AVOID "SELF-AGGRANDIZEMENT, A LACK OF DISCIPLINE, AND APATHY."

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

7. DAOUD ALSO LAUNCHED A FEW BRICKBATS AT RADICAL FOREIGN IDEOLOGIES, BOTH OF THE RIGHT AND THE LEFT, AND THEIR AFGHAN ADHERENTS. IN THIS CONTEXT, HE CONDEMNED THE RECENT "TREACHEROUS ACTIONS" OF MOHAMMAD MARJAN, WHOM THE REGIME HAD OFFICIALLY ACCUSEDOF KHURRAM'S MURDER, AND WHO HAD ALLEGEDLY BEEN A LOCAL SUPPORTER OF THE RIGHTIST MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IDEOLOGY. DAOUD ALSO SPECIFICALLY REFERRED TO "ONE OR TWO TRAITORS" AMONG THE SHINWARI TRIBESMEN OF NANGARHAR PROVINCE. (COMMENT: HE WAS PROBABLY REFERRING TO THE ALLEGED CO-CONSPIRATORS OF MARJAN. END COMMENT)

8. FINALLY, IN A VERY ENIGMATIC STATEMENT, BUT ONE WHICH COULD TYPIFY DAOUD'S OWN COMMITMENT TO INSTITUTIONALIZE AFGHAN POLITICS, HE SAID THAT THE "OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT IS A TEMPORARY ONE, BUT THE REPUBLICAN ORDER IS PERMANENT AND LASTING. THIS POSITION IS NOT A PERSONAL POSITION."

9. COMMENT: THE GENERAL SHAPE OF THE DAOUDIST IDEOLOGY WHICH EMERGES FROM THIS DELUGE OF PUBLIC PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENTS IS ONE BASED ON AN EXTREMELY NATIONALIST FOUNDATION, WITH A HOSTILITY TO FOREIGN IDEOLOGIES, AND AN OBSESSION THAT IF THE AFGHAN PEOPLE ARE EVER TO ENJOY THE FRUITS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOP-MENT, THEY WILL HAVE TO RAISE THEMSELVES BY THEIR OWN BOOTSTRAPS, RELYING ON FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ONLY FOR TEMPORARY HELP. DAOUD APPEARS CONVINCED THAT THE INSTITUTIONAL SEEDS HE HAS PLANTED WILL TAKE ROOT, GIVEN TIME, BUT HIS REMARKS DEMON-STRATE THAT HE IS AWARE OF THE STRONG CLAIMS WHICH ETHNIC, FAMILIAL, AND REGIONAL TIES STILL MAKE ON AFGHAN LOYALTIES. WHETHER THE PRINCIPLES OF THE PRESIDENT'S PHILOSOPHY WILL INDEED
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

TAKE LASTING ROOT IN THIS COUNTRY REMAINS TO BE SEEN. MUCH, OF COURSE, DEPENDS ON HOW LONG FATE AND POLITICS ALLOW DAOUD TO REMAIN IN OFFICE. BY MEANS OF THIS SERIES OF PUBLIC ADDRESSES, HOWEVER, HE HAS GONE A LONG WAY IN REBUTTING CRITICISM OFTEN HEARD AMONG SOME PLLITICALLY AWARE AFGHANS THAT THEY DO NOT KNOW WHAT THIS REGIME IS TRYING TO ACHIEVE. THE PRESIDENT'S PUBLIC IDEAS ARE NOW EVIDENT; WHETHER THEY CAN BE IMPLEMENTED BY HIS CHOSEN ADVISORS IS AN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, BUT ALSO ESPECIALLY CRITICAL MATTER.
ELIOT

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: GOVERNMENT REFORM, SPEECHES, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 27 mar 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978KABUL02283
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780132-0560
Format: TEL
From: KABUL
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780323/aaaaaswy.tel
Line Count: 214
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: d0bf12bd-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 05 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: N/A
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3197196
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: DAOUD GOES TO THE PEOPLE AND DESCRIBES DAOUDISM
TAGS: PINT, PGOV, AF, (DAOUD, MOHAMMAD)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/d0bf12bd-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014